

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If the gentleman will permit, nobody knows when that moment will arrive—neither the gentleman from New York nor anyone else. I think it is of sufficient importance that the membership wants to be here, and if it is fixed at that time they will be here. In addition to that, if the time is fixed now, the gentleman from New York will know that he will have it, and if we leave it open we can not tell who might object to it after the first five minutes.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not see why the gentleman from New York felt it necessary to go outside of the committee, with whom he was making an arrangement, to get time and have an understanding with a gentleman who is not on the committee. I give you my word that the understanding I had with him was that I would help him get the time when the item was reached.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I beg to assure the gentleman that I have no understanding of any kind with the gentleman from New York [Mr. LaGUARDIA]. I would have no authority in this matter of any kind except to make this request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Sunday, December 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Department of Commerce, transmitting a copy of the report of the Chief of the Division of Publications of this department for the fiscal year 1918, which contains a detailed statement of publications received and the number distributed by this department during the fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1587); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, together with report of J. W. Sackett, assistant engineer in charge, with map dated March 20, 1918, on a preliminary examination of Miami Harbor (Biscayne Bay), Fla. (H. Doc. No. 1588); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, transmitting a statement of money received from the sale of waste paper from December 1, 1917, to December 1, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1589); to the Committee on Accounts and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. DENT, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13366) permitting any person who has served in the Army in the present war to retain his uniform and personal equipment, and to wear the same under certain conditions, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 863), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 13392) to permanently transfer the United States Coast Guard from the Treasury Department to the Navy Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 13393) to extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Missouri River between the States of Nebraska and Iowa; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VINSON: A bill (H. R. 13394) to extend the time for the completion of the dam across the Savannah River by authority granted to Twin City Power Co. by an act approved February 29, 1908, as amended by act approved March 1, 1916; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HUSTED: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 63) declaratory of the judgment of Congress respecting foreign alliances and the freedom of the seas; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOOHER: A bill (H. R. 13395) granting an increase of pension to Edwin Hallowell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 13396) for the relief of Thomas Casey, alias Clancy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DENISON: A bill (H. R. 13397) granting an increase of pension to Wesley G. McPherson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 13398) for the relief of Henry Schulz as branch postmaster at his drug store, at southeast corner of Vandeventer and Laclede Avenues, city of St. Louis, Mo., for war-tax stamps, war-savings stamps, postage stamps, cash, and money orders stolen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GILLET: A bill (H. R. 13399) granting a pension to William Thornton Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 13400) granting to certain claimants a preference right to purchase certain lands in the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the National Association of Credit Men, the Associated Silver Co., the Chicago Association of Credit Men, and the Elting Co., of Chicago, for the passage of the revenue bill before the end of the year; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky: Petition of Kentucky Tobacco Growers' Association, for the appointment of a commission to fix the price on tobacco; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Resolution adopted by New Korea Association, relating to Korea's grievances; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE of Maine: Resolution of the State convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, at Lewiston, Me., on Irish emancipation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

SUNDAY, December 15, 1918.

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we are called together in Thy providence that we may accord a national honor to the memory of a distinguished member of this body. We pause in the midst of the pressing duties of these fateful days, and in the golden moments of the holy Sabbath we perform this sacred duty.

It is our obligation to inscribe upon the unperishable honor roll of our departed statesmen the name of the Senator from South Carolina. Thou didst endow him with many qualities of heart and mind that made him a power in our national councils. Passionate in his advocacy of the rights of all men, devoted in his friendships, consistent with the principles which he avowed in his public life.

By his far-sighted statesmanship, by his high sense of honor, by his strong defense of his political creed, he has made his name safe in the annals of American history.

We would not seek to assess the value of such a career. His record is with Thee, to whom we must all turn at last to give an account of our stewardship.

We pray that to-day as we recall his service to his country we may feel the ever-increasing responsibility of representing great sovereign States in this Senate. As we stand in this place of world-wide influence and power we seek the endowment of the spirit of righteousness to direct and control our lives according to the divine will.

We serve our fellowmen in the name and for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore [Mr. SAULSBURY] assumed the chair.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR TILLMAN.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

Secretary James M. Baker read the resolutions (S. Res. 388) and they were considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate express its profound sorrow in the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate in pursuance of an order heretofore made assemble to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, Senator BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN was born in 1847, which made him just the right age to receive childhood's vivid if exaggerated impression of the epoch-making period immediately preceding and culminating in the Civil War. The incidents and experiences that one must have witnessed and borne during that time, especially at the age of young TILLMAN, must have had a profound effect upon his character and his subsequent attitude as a man toward men and affairs.

The reconstruction period immediately following the war was fraught with more trials, tested more thoroughly the moral, mental, and patriotic fiber of men, than the actual period of the war itself. The struggle of the war itself was terrible, but the object to be attained was worthy of all sacrifice from the standpoint of the South. The orgy of misrule and corruption, during reconstruction times, threatened to engulf and destroy our civilization in that section. Rapine and lust, greed and avarice, in their most revolting form assumed to overrule virtue and decency, honesty and righteousness in both civil and political life.

Prominent amongst those who took part in stemming this unholy tide was young BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN. He did his part in bringing about the dissipation of this hideous nightmare of corruption and misrule, and helped, through the agency of the famous Red Shirt Brigade, to bring about the reestablishment of decent government in South Carolina and the liberation of its homes from the threatened beastly defilement.

When this task was accomplished and South Carolina, like other Southern States, took up her burden of rebuilding the waste places, of gathering together what resources she might in order to retrieve some semblance of the condition that made life tolerable, young TILLMAN also did his part. He, as his family before him had done, settled near Edgefield, S. C., and devoted himself to farming. Perhaps of all the occupations that felt the cruel grind of that period the farmers were the greatest sufferers. He knew at first hand by bitter experience their heritage of hardships, and his first appearance in the arena as a public man was in the advocacy of means looking toward the betterment of the conditions under which the farmer struggled. This first appearance at Bennettsville, S. C., in 1885, was the index to his future public career. His writings and speeches were devoted to the agitation of questions looking toward the betterment of agricultural conditions. In 1890 he became a candidate for governor, and was elected as a representative of the agricultural element of the State. He was re-elected in 1892. During his official career as governor he devoted a great deal of time and attention to the establishment of Clemson Agricultural College. This college, as a distinct separate educational institution, was established on the old John C. Calhoun estate, Fort Hill, in Oconee County, S. C. He devoted every available energy to the development and progress of this institution, and lived to see it become one of the foremost agricultural institutions of America.

He also was instrumental in the establishment at Rock Hill, S. C., of the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Women. These two institutions are perhaps the most enduring monuments to Senator TILLMAN's devotion to the cause of education, particularly for those classes for whose welfare he had written and worked so hard.

In 1894 he became a candidate for and was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Gen. M. C. Butler. In this capacity as a public man he served until his death.

Some of the most interesting things in connection with Senator TILLMAN's career as a public man were the establishment of the dispensary system in South Carolina for the control of the purchase, manufacture, and sale of whisky by the State. Through subsequent modifications of the law it was finally abolished. In the constitutional convention of 1895 Senator TILLMAN was instrumental in having written into the constitution a prohibition against the manufacture and sale of whisky by private individuals, so that during the modification of the dispensary law it finally became an issue as to local option be-

tween the counties as political units being allowed to sell whisky or prohibition. Prohibition finally won. Perhaps the most notable innovation in our political affairs during his career was the inauguration of the primary system for the selection of candidates for the Democratic Party. Senator TILLMAN was prominent in bringing about the adoption of the primary system in South Carolina for the naming of candidates in lieu of the old convention system.

It is interesting to note the subsequent adoption of this plan more or less throughout the country.

As a Senator he made a name for himself as a bold and aggressive debater. His views on public affairs he never hesitated to assert plainly and unequivocally, nor did he hesitate to challenge fearlessly what he did not approve. He loved his State in his own peculiar passionate way and guarded her rights with a fiery zeal characteristic of him. His hold upon the people of South Carolina was without parallel; he appealed to their imagination and dominated the State's political life as perhaps no other individual in her history had done. In a similar sense this was true of his hold upon the American public; that is, in his power to awaken their interest and appeal to their imagination. I knew very little of Senator TILLMAN's domestic life, but from what I was privileged to see of the relation that existed between him and Mrs. Tillman there was often called to my mind, as he himself was fond of quoting, that immortal verse of Burns:

John Anderson my jo, John,
When we were first acquaint,
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bonie brow was bent;
But now your brow is beld, John,
Your locks are like the snaw,
But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson my jo!

John Anderson my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither,
And monie a cantle day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither;
Now we maun totter down, John,
And hand in hand we'll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson my jo!

No two have ever lived in the spirit of this poem as Mr. and Mrs. TILLMAN, and the last verse was recalled to my mind whenever I saw them on the street or in their home.

The latter years of Senator TILLMAN's life were shadowed by an affliction which ultimately resulted in his death. The manner in which he bore this affliction was characteristic of the man. He refused to yield the field of his activities because of it, and only succumbed when death laid its hand upon him. He died as he had often expressed a desire to die—actually in harness. His death ended the career of one of the most remarkable characters my State ever produced.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, Senator TILLMAN did not come to the Senate in 1895, as many do, a man unknown beyond the limits of his own State. His reputation preceded his coming. The country had heard about him. The general public knowledge of him was not, perhaps, extensive, but it was distinct and emphatic. To those who looked below the surface it was apparent that here was a man who had wrested control of a famous State from a body of men who, from generation to generation, for 200 years had dominated its politics and its social and economic life. Both at home and in Washington they had brought forth distinguished leaders in public life, who had impressed themselves and their opinions deeply upon the history of the country and made South Carolina a power to be reckoned with throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whatever their mistakes may have been, however extreme their views, they had been remarkable for ability, courage, and force displayed not only by individuals but by families, whose names and achievements were familiar to all the people of the United States. They had retained their power after the Civil War as it had existed before the great conflict which they had done so much to lead and provoke. Then, as the century closed, they were suddenly overwhelmed and defeated by the forces which rallied behind Senator TILLMAN.

To the mass of the American people who did not fully realize the deeper significance of Senator TILLMAN's victory he was known as the author of the dispensary laws, and his methods of discussion, his "pitchfork," and his reckless frankness in the use of language, of which he had ample command, had made him a picturesque figure and greatly excited public curiosity as to his activities when he reached the Senate. It was for the most part by no means either a friendly or a sympathetic curiosity, but it was both vivid and strong, for it was understood that

he intended to revolutionize the Senate, as he had already revolutionized South Carolina.

Senator TILLMAN was neither the first nor the last who has come to the Senate with such a purpose as that attributed to him, and anyone who has studied the history or watched the movements of the Senate for a number of years knows what has happened to those who have come in from another field determined to change the Senate and overturn its ways and methods. The first fact they discover is that the Senate takes a local or State reputation very calmly and is apt to remain undazzled by its beams. Power and reputation in the Senate must be acquired in the Senate itself. The Senate as a body is very tolerant and generous. There is more personal good feeling, less personal animosity, a more complete desire to be considered with each other, and a greater loyalty to the Senate itself and its traditions than in any other legislative body in the world. But on one point the Senate is firm. It declines to be bored. Its method of declination may not be obvious but it is highly effective. The men who have come here proclaiming their intention of revolutionizing and reforming the Senate have fallen in practice into two classes—those who insisted on continuing to attack the Senate and all its habits and methods and those who sooner or later, generally sooner than later, accepted the Senate traditions and ways of life. The former, very few in number, became bores and found themselves unheard and without influence and have been forgotten. The latter have been successful and often distinguished Senators, influential and effective. It is needless to say that Senator TILLMAN belonged preeminently to the second class. He never bored anyone. However widely one might disagree with him he was always and unfailingly interesting. He came not only to accept the Senate but to be one of its most ardent defenders, supporting its rules, habits, and traditions, and very proud of its history and of its power and importance.

This came about through no sacrifice of principle, but simply because he was a man naturally of strong good sense and open to conviction. He startled the country and the Senate at the very outset by an unbridled attack upon President Cleveland, and I think he even then began to see that in the Senate at least this was not the best method to advance the policies or the principles he had at heart. He came to the Senate also with bitter and deep-seated dislike, I will not say prejudice, against all Republicans and all northern men. Nevertheless, among Republicans and northern men he found before many years had passed some of his warmest personal friends. In these last years he one day made a short speech in the Senate in which he admitted that he had been mistaken in these early opinions and that he had in these respects changed his mind. It seemed, I am sure, to those who heard or read what he said an avowal at once manly and touching. But it was something more than this. It showed willingness and ability to learn, admirable and essential capacities throughout life, and especially to be cherished in old age. It also showed the courage to admit that he had been wrong, and this is a loftier and rarer attribute and a very fine quality indeed.

But if Senator TILLMAN learned to know the Senate and his fellow Senators better and to like them better as the years passed, the Senate also learned much about him. Everyone was aware that he was able, forceful, and possessed of unbounded energy. But Senators found also that the blunt words and the stormy manner when he was roused were far more in evidence in public than in private life. Behind all this was a kindly nature, plenty of humor, a serious outlook on life, and real sincerity of purpose. One at least of those who came in the process of time to know him well discovered that Senator TILLMAN had knowledge of and genuine fondness for literature and poetry—good literature and good poetry be it said—and above all that he was a lover of Shakespeare, a phase of his character not generally appreciated. He was a conspicuous and active Senator for many years and worked hard and faithfully until he was stricken by illness some years ago. After his partial recovery he went on with an uncomplaining and unflinching courage which commanded everyone's admiration until the end came. Never did he appear better than in his attitude toward the war. He never had any doubts. He recognized what Germany meant, and he was for the right and for the war with all his strength. During these years of physical trial and endurance he turned more than ever toward the friends with whom he had been long in service, and grew ever gentler and more kindly. The affection and sympathy which I think he craved, for he had an emotional nature, were freely given. After a long day of many conflicts the evening was calm and peaceful. As I talked with him and watched him amid the lengthening shadows when the sun of life was slowly setting

I often thought of Dr. Holmes's lines written for his own seventieth birthday:

Still as the silver cord gets worn and slender,
Its lightened task-work tugs with lessening strain,
Hands get more helpful, voices grown more tender
Soothe with their softened tones the slumberous brain.

So when the iron portal shuts behind us,
And life forgets us in its noise and whirl,
Visions that shunned the glaring noonday find us,
And glimmering starlight shows the gates of pearl.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, Senator TILLMAN was one of the most striking and picturesque characters in the public life of America. No one interested or attracted the attention of the public more than he. His mental qualities and his physical appearance were each peculiarly fascinating. He possessed a strong, robust, and compact body; a firm, decisive step; large, expansive, and magnificent brow; clear, dark, and fearless eyes; firm and resolute mouth and chin, indicative of unflinching courage and resolution. He had a somber, serious aspect, which could scarcely conceal the fierce flames of passion and conviction which surged beneath. In speaking, he made very few gestures, but occasionally emphasized a point by a peculiar gesture of arm and finger, which always left a profound impression upon his hearers. His strong physical personality always left upon his auditors, whether of the Senate or public assembly, a most favorable impression. He had a strong, clear, and penetrating voice, falling pleasantly on the ears, never monotonous because frequently tinged with sarcasm or resounding with indignation. These large physical advantages, combined with his mental qualities, made him one of the most effective speakers of his day. I have heard few public speakers who could sway and hold a great audience better than Senator TILLMAN. Wherever he went in the United States large assemblages greeted him enthusiastically and applauded uproariously his bold, striking utterances. In the days of his health and vigor he was one of the most effective debaters in the Senate. Well do I recall, when I was a Member of the House of Representatives, the frequent debates between Senator TILLMAN and Senator Spooner, which crowded the Chamber with Members of the House and the galleries with interested spectators. During his long service in the Senate few of its Members engaged in more important debates than he—few participated in discussing subjects of such large range and variety. He was well informed on all matters, ranging from the smallest to those of paramount importance. In discussing them he displayed accurate knowledge, logical and patriotic conclusions.

Senator TILLMAN came to the United States Senate after he had had a most remarkable and successful career as governor of his State. He had attained political supremacy in South Carolina only after fierce conflict and unrelenting combat. He had won at home by the strength of battle—not the art of diplomacy. His methods were those of the fighting warrior, and not those of the negotiating diplomat. This characterized alike his political career in the Senate. He boldly proclaimed at all times his convictions and conclusions, willing to stand or fall on their acceptance or rejection. He indulged in no equivocation, no evasion. He was bold, clear, and defiant, possessing the rare quality of complete intellectual integrity. He did not shrink going to the utmost limit dictated by his convictions and conclusions. This rugged, sterling integrity obtained for him the full confidence of his people. However much others may have differed with Senator TILLMAN, they knew he but gave utterance to his honest convictions. This gave him strength and brought to him a following which no charm of eloquence or intellectual adroitness could ever obtain. Thus all through his political life he builded on the solid foundation of courage and candor. Fear of consequences never made him fail to answer a roll call in the Senate. His integrity was such that when he made a mistake, and later realized it, he never sought refuge in evasion, but frankly and boldly confessed his error.

His intellectual integrity was only equaled by his great moral integrity. Throughout his long political career no stain followed his footsteps—no scandal tarnished his fame. Any corrupt scheme that sought to covertly wind its way through the Senate ever encountered a most vigilant and inveterate foe in Senator TILLMAN. Special privileges and favoritism always found in him a persistent enemy. His service to this country in this respect was invaluable.

His rugged, sterling honesty was one of Senator TILLMAN's most splendid qualities. Honesty is the greatest of virtues, around which all others cling; without it they wither and fall in dust and weeds.

Mr. President, Senator TILLMAN's legislative achievements were extensive and most useful to his country. He was a most

industrious worker and legislator. He was constant in his attendance in the Senate, active and energetic as a committee worker. He was the recipient not many years ago of a striking indication of the very high regard and esteem in which he was held by his colleagues when legislation for the regulation of railroads was put under his control and management, although a majority of the Members of the Senate at that time were of opposite political faith. In the management of this measure he displayed parliamentary skill, eloquence, and great information.

His greatest work in the Senate was that which appertained to his duties as a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, of which he was for some time chairman. He labored incessantly in committee and on the floor of the Senate to make the American Navy sufficiently large and efficient to discharge its responsibilities. His efforts were untiring in this direction. To the accomplishment of this task, which was so dear to his heart, he brought all his rugged strength and pertinacity. Having been closely associated with him in this work, ranking next to him on this committee, I desire to bear testimony to his usefulness and invaluable service. He aided most potentially in having the American Navy properly prepared, and thus made possible its achievements in the war with Germany. The country will ever owe him a large debt of gratitude for his work in this direction. When Senator TILLMAN died the American Navy lost a strong and powerful friend.

Mr. President, my association with Senator TILLMAN was so close and intimate that I was not only cognizant of his splendid qualities as a public man but I was also fully aware of his excellence as a private individual. His private life was moral, clean, lovable, and honorable. He possessed in a preeminent degree strong moral character and integrity. He scorned duplicity and falsehood, loathing a lie. He fearlessly and scrupulously spoke the truth—sometimes almost brutally. I never knew a more tender, devoted husband; a kinder, better father. As a friend, he was steadfast and loyal. Like "Old Hickory" Jackson, his rugged character was knitted together by the strong fibers of friendship and fidelity. Of him it may be said, as was said of "Old Hickory" Jackson, "He never failed a friend, never forgot a favor."

Mr. President, in the death of Senator TILLMAN this country has sustained a great loss. In these trying hours our country needs strong, rugged characters like him, men whose broad and brave shoulders can securely bear national burdens. Our pressing need now is not beautiful and fragrant flowers, but old, gnarled oaks like Senator TILLMAN, to bear the present coming storm and stress. We do not now need eloquent and pleasing Ciceros to gloss over vice and evil and conceal dangers. We need fearless Catos, like Senator TILLMAN, to point out wrong, expose iniquity, and fearlessly meet dangers and difficulties.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, in 1876 the so-called "carpet-bag" and negro-rule government, which had come as a result of the close of the Civil War, in South Carolina was overturned, and the political power in the State fell into the hands of the survivors of that political aristocracy which had been in power in the years preceding the Civil War. The men who thus came into power, many of them prominent Confederate officers, continued in control of the political affairs of the State until 1890—a period of 14 years.

In the meantime a spirit of restlessness had arisen among the middle classes, or the so-called "common people," of the State, against the rule of this old-time political aristocracy. This culminated in a movement among the farmers, who formed the farmer organization of the State.

Senator TILLMAN became one of the leaders in this movement, and became a candidate for governor under the auspices and with the support of this farmer organization. It was a drastic and bitter campaign which ensued between the "old guard" and the "new guard" under the leadership of TILLMAN. He was the central figure and the moving spirit of the great political battle from which he emerged victorious at all points.

This was followed by another drastic political campaign in 1892, in which TILLMAN was again a candidate for governor, and in which he was reelected after a very hot and exciting campaign. And finally in 1894 he was elected United States Senator after a bitter and spirited fight, defeating one of the prominent leaders of the old régime.

TILLMAN's victories in these campaigns were so complete that the elements which he and his followers vanquished have never since regained the power they had previously held.

The administration of TILLMAN as governor was on the whole and in the main successful and progressive. He was instru-

mental in bringing about many important reforms and improvements for the welfare of the State. While he was inclined to be, somewhat domineering and drastic in his ways, yet on account of his honesty and sincerity and on account of the wisdom of his measures he was looked upon with favor and became popular among the great masses of the State, and that popularity he retained in full measure until the day of his death.

While Senator TILLMAN had not had the advantages of a full college education, he had, nevertheless, been well trained in one of the academic schools of his State, where he was in attendance for upward of three years. But whatever deficiency there may have been in the training of the schools he more than made up in after life. He was a great reader and a great student, and he confined his readings and his studies largely to classical works of the highest order. He was a wonderful man in energy and perseverance, never at a standstill, always moving ahead, always seeking new worlds to conquer.

Mr. President, it came to pass that he and I took the oath of office and entered the Senate on the same day—the 4th of March, 1895. We soon became intimate friends, and that friendship continued until the time of his death. While at first he seemed somewhat crusty and abrupt, yet I soon discovered that this was but the outer shell of a kind and generous heart and a vigorous and active mind. When he entered the Senate he was a veteran of many a hard-fought political battle, and this had developed in him a belligerent attitude on many public questions, which at times seemed to make him rather impatient of opposition. But, however this might be, everyone recognized his integrity and honesty of purpose, and no one could doubt his earnestness and sincerity. As a rule, there was with him no middle ground; a measure was to him either right or wrong, and hence he was most persistent and vigorous in his advocacy or in his opposition. When he was actively enlisted in a cause there was no truce; the battle must be vigorously fought to the end.

I remember well the first great speech he made in the Senate. It seemed to me to come from a heart full of the evolutions in which he had taken part in his own State. There were many unique phrases and idioms in his speech which gave evidence of this, but on the whole his speech indicated to me that he was at heart sound and that he would zealously labor for the best interests of our common country.

As the years went by he became a good sound debater, more moderate in tone and more charitable to his opponents, and many of his early idiosyncrasies disappeared. He became a ready debater and could take and give blows as effectively as any Senator in this body. His oratory was not of the glittering kind that dealt in lofty and high-sounding periods, but rather of the kind that struck sledge-hammer blows at the heart of the question. He took no pains to sugar coat the points he made. Because of his earnestness and sincerity, and because of his avoidance of all ornament, he became a most powerful advocate or a most dangerous opponent. Above all things he believed in calling things by their right names, and if a scholarly name was not found he would evoke an idiom or phrase current among the people, but not always found in the books, which would oftentimes in its very peculiarity furnish a most potent argument.

Prior to the misfortune which befell him through a stroke of apoplexy he was one of the most energetic and hard-working Members of the Senate, participating in the debates on all important and leading questions. He took a leading part in securing the enactment of the amendatory interstate commerce act of 1906, which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission for the first time the rate-making power, a power that had been sought for, both by the commission and by the great mass of the people, for many years. I well remember the persistency with which he labored in this cause, and the helpful and effective work he did in that behalf.

He was much sought for as a lecturer, in the Northern States especially, on account of his ultra views on the so-called "race question." His discussion of this question was always illuminating and instructive; and while his audiences may not always have agreed with his views yet he always secured a large attendance of good listeners, who, to say the least, were interested in hearing his views on his side of the case.

He was always kind and considerate toward his fellow Senators, and on his lecture tours, if the occasion arose, he would always say a good word for his colleagues, whether they belonged to his party or not.

He was emphatically, in the true sense of the word, a progressive—a progressive in the sense that, although the old may have proved satisfactory, yet if anything new developed, which he found to be better, he was ready and swift to seize upon it.

He was in all things loyal and faithful to the interests and welfare of his State and to the interests and welfare of our common country. He had no patience with shams nor with glittering generalities, and in his debates he gave no mercy to either.

South Carolina has been represented by many able, cultured, and highly educated men in this body, men who commanded attention here and elsewhere; and while Senator TILLMAN may not have had the culture or the gifts of oratory of some of his predecessors, yet I doubt whether any of them rendered more effective and beneficial service in this vineyard of the people to his State and to our common country than did he.

He was an active dynamo in the moral and intellectual world, that gave ample evidence of a brave heart and a strong soul—tireless in the performance of his duties. A Senate composed of such men as TILLMAN would never go far astray and would always be apt to listen to the demands of the people for necessary constructive and remedial legislation.

Had he lived he would, no doubt, have been returned to the Senate by practically a unanimous vote of the people of his State, but the fates willed otherwise. And while he is with us no more, the public spirit which he infused into the political, social, and economic life of his State still survives, and his memory will be cherished for years to come as one of the most beloved sons of South Carolina.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, among those whose fortune it is to contribute a word upon this sublime as well as solemn occasion, to me is given the privilege of expressing a heart's feeling, a thought.

These proceedings, Mr. President, are designated as obituaries. The general mankind, reading of them in the public press, is inclined to the idea that they are a mere formal proceeding, established by custom, and observed in their repetition merely that we might comply with some senatorial courtesy. Others feel, Mr. President, that they are something like a surcease of the political quarrels of the past, and are in the form of a universal forgiveness, while we robe the dead with the consideration we decline them while they live. Partisan conflicts are believed to have been so bitter in this Chamber that time never heals their wounds, nor any form of personal gift of the combatant or charm of manner in individuals ameliorates the asperities that were exhibited in the combat.

Too many assume that these proceedings but envelop with a genial glow the closing chapter of some life where before partisanship had shrouded in gloom. It is not true. It is regretful that the public should have an estimate of that nature. There is no rule of this body which calls upon a Senator to pay his respects to a dead comrade. There is no obligation upon him other than that which applies from man to man in any avenue of life. Utterances such as will be embalmed, sir, in a volume kept as a monument of memory of the deceased are volunteer expressions of admiration and heartfelt praise. We must note the tributes from such men as these two distinguished leaders of one of the great parties of our Nation—one from the East, in the classic scholar, Mr. LODGE, of Massachusetts; one from the West, in the great, strong, sturdy nature of NELSON, of Minnesota. Sir, these are not born out of courtesy, nor do they spring out of mere observance of custom. They were the overflowings of a heart that had become convinced by close association of the merit of the man. They were inspired by that impulse of justice which speaks out here and voices the sentiment to all now living who knew the dead TILLMAN as the living statesman may know how thus his rivals in politics, his opponents in conflict, and more, sir, oftentimes his enemies in party warfare remember him and appraise him as a man.

I have often thought, Mr. President, that when contributions have come, such as from these distinguished gentlemen of our side, called democratic, toward Democrats, they would be accepted only as a tribute of party associates and regarded as a favor that was due one to whom the party associations have for a while been tender and fraternal; but it is not known to the public that even among ourselves very serious differences often exist as to ways and means and as to methods and objects and likewise, sir, among us the contribution or tribute is never tendered from mere favor or form. It is only spoken because of that conviction of truth, that sense of desert, that solemn justice we owe that deserving man, whoever he is.

Mr. President, if it were in my power, I would abolish our prevailing method of giving obituary—delaying the tribute until convenient time. I would invoke in this body that other rule prescribing that when the solemn announcement of the death of a comrade came to us, and there were those disposed to speak of his qualities and deserts, I would have that duty discharged then. I would not have it so lapse that the memory of him

would be dimmed by after events, and those who had known him intimately deprived of the word that could be spoken by those of close familiarity and fresh memory. Yet, after all, I am inclined, sir, as I speak, to another thought. This lapse of time must impress the public with the sincerity of these utterances. Many events have happened since this distinguished man was laid to rest among his friends. Swirling clouds of war flashed with flames of fire, portions of the earth ripped apart, kings toppled, monarchs crushed, while dynasties have passed into the aftermath, to be remembered only as a thing to be despised or to be mourned. Only a strong man, Mr. President, who had impressed his personality greatly upon the soul of man, could have been remembered during such times as these and could have invoked from men the expression so firm in praise and so strong in love as that which has come from these who have spoken to-day of this one man—TILLMAN.

Only great merits of such a man carved in deeds upon the hearts of his fellows could have been reflected after such events. The ordinary man, to whom a tribute out of courtesy would have been given, would have been forgotten in such an hour. It is only a great star shining among planets, whose light could illumine through such darkness amid which we have lived. Only the attributes of the great, sir, who have remained to reflect their glory upon mankind in such scenes as those which, amid fire and death, and universal carnage, still survive. And if the time has lapsed—which I deplore—from custom, it is to be said that in this particular instance it has served as a test of this man's great deserts. It must now be certified that amid it all and through it all still he could remain an ever-gleaming light, pouring its radiance about the hearts of his friends and reflecting again that splendid flame of character of this dead master. It must ever live as a beacon to guide the children of the State he honored with his sublime service.

Sir, Senator TILLMAN was, as these distinguished Senators have said, but a plain man; and yet what greater men have we among greatness than those who are plain men? We recall for a second the lines that Tennyson translated from the heart of that returning statesman, who from an humble farmer to premier found himself in his boyhood village. After a career of greatness in public life, he returns to where once he followed a plowshare. He looks about him, and musing stands:

Dost thou look back on what hath been,
As some divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began
And on a simple village green.

Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blows of circumstance
And grapples with his evil star.

Ah, behold! That is the "pillar of a people's hope," and the "center of a world's desire."

Sir, what was the object of this man, BEN TILLMAN, citizen of the United States? Mr. President, my mother's family was from the State of South Carolina. They were the Hamiltons—I am carrying their name. The mere suggestion indicates to you, sir, that I was necessarily interested in the State from the earliest time of my life and that I must ever be interested in the affairs of its men. I left the South very early, and found my home in the West, and have remained a western man. I entered the House of Representatives in 1897, and had the delight to serve with such comrades as I see sitting about me—the eminent Senator, now chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, succeeding Senator TILLMAN, Mr. SWANSON of Virginia, whose public service has been shown in so many characters and in so many high places of civilization; also the distinguished Senator from Colorado, Mr. SHAFROTH, whose contribution in all things to the welfare of his country is praised by those who know him. I can recall that it was one of our occupations, when we were not busy in the House, to come over to the Senate when we heard that TILLMAN of South Carolina was to engage in some form of debate or conflict. As the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Minnesota have well said, he attracted attention from the mere fact that he was to speak.

Mr. President, let me say, sir, on this solemn occasion, yet, sir, with all the deliberation it commands, it was not so important in those days as to how he said that which he did; it mattered not in what words these phrases should be graced; nor particularly, sir, does it dwell now upon the mind of man as to whether they disclosed college education, the finish of literary adornment, or the perfection of phraseology. It was that the man felt justice; it was that his constant struggle in life was to do that justice to man; it was that the very soul about him surged and beat to the single purpose of having justice done by

his Government, aye, to its humblest citizen, and for this, to this, and through this he spoke.

Mr. President, I have lived through two epochs in this Government when to my mind, reflecting the lessons which the page of history gave me, there was suggested time and time again how near my country was on the verge of a civil revolution. One of those, sir, was in the years when I first came into public life, following 1896—in the year 1897. It was at the end, sir, of what was called a Democratic administration. Without regard to what might be said to be the right or wrong of measures which were then in force, or, sir, of the policies which were then invoked, it is sufficient to recall for a moment that there was a public mind throughout the land which, because of financial distresses, and not understanding the causes that brought them forth, was on the eve of overturning all of the fixed institutions of our fabric, and would have been content to do so in any form that should have presented itself to their successful undertaking. Do you realize, Senators, that but for such men as Ben Tillman, who was understood to represent the humble people, to speak for the great rights of civilization, to speak for that great mass of mankind who find themselves squirming beneath the feet of men—that but for such as he, in whom that class had confidence and felt he was for them—the people—this land of ours never could have escaped the fate that has followed all other lands since history threw its light on civilization under similar circumstances—revolution?

It was the manner of such a man, the expressions of such a man, the purpose of such a man and of his kind wherever they were, sir, which saved the Republic of the United States, and held it firm to the center of its purpose, a peaceful government of the people, by the voice of the people. He therefore, sir, contributed a great service to the Republic. Without being conscious of it, and perchance without having it in his purpose, he was one of the few who cemented our country again together when it was about to part like a ship in the mad waves of a vengeful sea.

When men shall come to consider such a man, may we not recall the atmosphere in which he lived, the time in which he spoke, the conditions he met, the remedies he offered, and the result of his contributions? By these may he not be measured? And since the tendency of us all is to look to smaller things in human life and by this diminish the real measure of greatness in the altogether, we may appeal to future history, and shall consider this great truth, to recall what was the results and the sure effect of such a life as he lived, such offerings as he gave, such services as he brought to his land in such an hour as they were given.

Mr. President, there was another period which fell to the peril of insurrection with what was called Republican administration. This was in the fall of 1912. It began in the spring of 1912, following the year 1911, culminating in a spirit in this land of a political upheaval partaking of resentment against party arrangement and party organization, and against every form of established government. Had there not been strong men on all sides to come forth at such a time and point out where the real evil was and how it could be remedied by the people themselves, there would have been a revolution in America. There was a spirit in the land that cared nothing for ancient institutions, that knew neither the fathers of the past nor recked of their glory. Sir, this and other reasons similar to that in effect which followed immediately what was known as the Cleveland administration, produced a situation that promised to overturn the courts on one hand, to dispense with all our forms of legislation throughout and end in the wreck and ruin of our form of civilization.

One can only conjecture what might have followed had it not been for the course of honest, faithful, strong-hearted men, who arose and spoke the truth without fear, placed the evil where it belonged, and registered responsibility at its just place and spoke the real remedy for the wrong endured. Tillman was one, and here in this Chamber his voice could be heard long after the expiration of 1896. Twenty years of public life had not changed his creed or modified the sincere, patriotic effort he made for mankind. He was one of its legislative saviors.

Senators have said and rightfully that men serving on this floor with each other become mollified; that they become softened; that the spirit of attack vanishes; that party contest wanes. One stands like a vestal near the flame with the swinging incense of friendship perfuming every conflict. But, sir, however true that may be, and doubtless is—and long may it continue, that we may ever be prepared for that last day when we speak the word for our friends—still, sir, as to this man neither fear of men nor partisanship of politics nor favor from his own nor affections of home ever moved him from his conviction.

Nor, sir, did the beckon of riches or the opportunity of wealth seduce him from his firm sense of right, and when he began his undertaking for men he remained true to the end. It was because of the confidence of the multitude in such men, in whom they beheld the rock around whom the vine might entwine in beauty yet remain fixed in unshaken strength. Truly, sir, his voice and character was the rock of our salvation. When we reflect upon this we can but slightly measure the service such a man does a country such as ours, founded upon the will of the people and only abiding in the faith the people have in the honesty of men.

Senators have referred to the last days of this distinguished statesman. Mr. President, in civil government his decree was justice to men, in war the duty of patriots. From neither did he ever veer. As the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has well said, his eye was fixed to see through the long distance the great danger that was upon us in a later hour. He did not parley with it; he did not compromise with it nor smother its expression from fear in any quarter. His was again the drawn ax, that he might smite the head of the foe when raised to endanger his country.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] well spoke of Senator TILLMAN's efforts in behalf of the Navy. The distinguished head of the Navy, the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, who bore the great burden in such hour, is here sitting with us. He found no aid greater, none stronger, none more patriotic, and none more sure and more uncompromising in his championship than this chairman of the Naval Committee.

Mr. President, I know the South. It was not easy for BEN TILLMAN in time of peace to stand here in support of a large Navy. He came from a State whose people were carefully considerate, among whom were few millionaires. The rich were the exception. They were inclined by nature and from a Commonwealth of past conviction inclined to resent on the part of their public servant unnecessary appropriations that would bring large taxes and heavy burdens upon their people and their earnings. No one knew this more than TILLMAN. He knew this necessarily attracted about himself a possible political opposition from which he might have to pay that penalty which public men pay for outrunning their constituents and guiding instead of following them.

But, nevertheless, sir, he did not make measure of that event. The duty of his whole country was the sole standard to him. He was willing to trust the intelligence of South Carolina. He knew her humble people as he did her superior people, and that if he were to go to them with the truth, it would be the truth that would not only make them free but save him from any injustice which might otherwise befall him. It was that feature of independence in politics that characterized him, so different from any men around him, and which justify on this day these attributes of praise which are so willingly and sweetly rendered by these his comrades who were a generation and more in public life with him.

Mr. President, I knew him as a friend. I did not hesitate to go to him for counsel. To him I had no pride in confessing blunders, which of course in all men's lives are many. I never knew a man to whom I could go with greater hope for consolation and for a sure sense of guardianship than to this man TILLMAN. It is because of this that I recall it. My sense of obligations is but different from that of his other dear comrades. I knew him as a friend, and as such I mourn him and miss him.

But, Mr. President, there was one thought which I can not omit. Those who knew him closely would ever be impressed with his Christianity. There was about TILLMAN a sense of responsibility to God and Heaven to which he felt he would some day make his last return. Sir, whatever else might have been, when that time came there would be nothing for him to seek to hide. There would be nothing which he need seek excuse from his fellow mankind. His religion was to him consoling, ever guiding and ever inspiring him. His religion was faith in God, his belief the teachings of Christ, his creed love for his fellow mankind.

This is all, sir, that nursed him through those days of illness which distinguished Senators have alluded to; it consoled him in such hour as he was by his affectionate and tender wife, who never tired, and his children about, who never wearied in their service for him. He clung to life as a duty to them. Many times we have seen him here when we knew his oppressed physical condition would not permit or justify it, yet out of duty to those around him, at the sacrifice of physical comfort, he would ever be with us in the discharge of the duty he owed to God and to man. Where will we find in after days a nobler example for men to pattern by than such a character?

Mr. President, South Carolina has contributed many great men to the world of circumstance in America, and she has inscribed in perpetual history such memorial as time affords to the names of great heroes and wondrous statesmen familiar to us. We recall them easily. John C. Calhoun was a master of sophistry, a philosopher of government—in the science of it as it is written. Hammond was distinguished by reason of something of the insistence on that class distinction which prevailed too long in the South and to her great injury; Butler, the example of noblesse oblige. In his personality he ever commanded respect and admiration. Hampton personified the valor of the soldier and the character of those who gave much of life for what they believed and could not understand the difference of another as against them or as neglectful of all their people's sacrifice.

But in TILLMAN there was the philosopher of government—that government that meant justice to all men equally wherever possible under the law. There was the courtly gentleman who knew not how to swerve from duty, with the courage of the soldier, a courage which never shrank in an undertaking, that meant the preservation of the country and the maintenance of its honor. He passed through all the stages represented by all others and in himself personified their virtues. In these days of great victories where they have been garnered by other men with every opportunity of favor or partiality, BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN leaves in his life and memory a monument of achievement over all obstacles to which after generations of his State will ever point with pride and glory, one which will inspire all children to noble efforts, and put upon their lips a chorus of praise in the coming day and in after time in the new regeneration of this, our Republic. Those who knew him will praise God that our world could produce such a man as BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. President, in all ages and amongst all civilized peoples it has been an honored custom for the living to pay tribute to the dead, and so to-day we are met here in response to that custom to pay a meed of tribute to the memory of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, whose seat I now have the honor to occupy.

The first ballot that it was ever my privilege, as a citizen of South Carolina, to cast for governor of my State was cast for BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN in 1892. The first ballot that it was ever my privilege, as a member of the General Assembly of South Carolina, to cast for United States Senator from my State was cast for the distinguished American Senator to whose memory we would to-day pay tribute.

Occupying the same seat that he so well and ably filled for nearly 24 years, succeeding him for a short time by the suffrage of the same people whom he loved so well, called upon by the people of South Carolina—his people and mine—to complete the service which they had intrusted to him, I must confess to a deep sense of my inability to pay full tribute to him as well as confess to my inability to render a service in this body comparable with the great record which he made for himself, his State, and his country, which has placed him in the front rank of not only the greatest of Carolina statesmen, but also amongst the greatest statesmen that our whole country has produced in its nearly 150 years of national existence.

The life and career of Senator TILLMAN should be an inspiration to the young manhood of America which has not had a full chance in the race of life. Coming on the scene of action immediately after the great Civil War, when his State was prostrate, his people poor, his opportunities circumscribed, without means and without educational facilities, he was compelled to work by day and study by night. He soon realized that the poor man without education fought an unequal fight, and he undertook to educate himself by study and reading whenever time permitted. Denied the education of a college, he turned to the university of hard knocks and hard work, and for many years he toiled to support his father's family and to store up knowledge of men and affairs. Living and making a living on a poor farm in South Carolina, under most adverse circumstances, he realized the hard lot of the poor and unfortunate, and it seems to me that then it was he must have read the words of Charles Dickens:

If ever household affections and loves are graceful things, they are graceful in the poor. The ties that bind the wealthy and the proud to home may be forged on earth, but those which link the poor man to his humble hearth are of the truer metal and bear the stamp of Heaven. The man of high descent may love the halls and lands of his inheritance as a part of himself, as trophies of his birth and power; his associations with them are associations of pride and wealth and triumph; the poor man's attachment to the tenements he holds, which strangers have held before and may to-morrow occupy again, has a worthier root, struck deep into purer soil. His household goods are of flesh and blood, with no alloy of silver, gold, or precious

stone; he has no property but in the affections of his own heart; and when they endear bare floors and walls, despite of rags and toil and scanty fare, that man has his love of home from God, and his rude hut becomes a solemn place.

His love of home, of wife, of children, his beautiful home life that he learned to live while he was yet poor and obscure, is evidence that the great novelist knew the real human heart, and it seems to me that in his early life our lamented friend must have breathed the same spirit that the same author expressed when he said:

Oh! if those who rule the destinies of nations would but remember this—if they would but think how hard it is for the very poor to have engendered in their hearts that love of home from which all domestic virtues spring, when they live in dense and squalid masses where social decency is lost, or, rather, never found—if they would but turn aside from the wide thoroughfares and great houses and strive to improve the wretched dwellings in byways where only poverty may walk—many low roofs would point more truly to the sky than the loftiest steeple that now rears proudly up from the midst of guilt and crime and horrible disease to mock them by its contrast.

With such an inspiration BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN must have been filled when he went out from his humble home and obscure place to lead the ignorant and the poor out into the bright light and clear sunshine of equal opportunity and freedom, and commenced to teach them anew the truth that Jefferson had written in the immortal Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these, governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

With this in mind he must have carried on his memorable campaign of education amongst the masses of the people of South Carolina and taught them how to vote in order that they might conduct their government in the interest of the whole people. About 1885 Mr. TILLMAN commenced a crusade, first through the press and later from the platform, to secure for the impoverished people of South Carolina better conditions of living.

The first speech that he ever delivered in public, in so far as I know, was delivered at Bennettsville, S. C., in the summer of 1885, and I well remember as a boy of 15 years of age hearing that speech in company with my father. Mr. TILLMAN was unused to public speech and had a prepared speech to read, but he had not proceeded far in a most awkward reading of it when he became disgusted with the attempt and threw his manuscript aside and launched out hesitatingly in the delivery of an extemporaneous speech which soon gained impetus and carried his audience with him. I shall never forget the expression of my father as we left the courthouse when he so well expressed my own youthful sentiments: "That man is a diamond in the rough," and so he afterwards demonstrated, but as time passed on the rough diamond was polished and smoothed and became the brightest jewel in the political crown of South Carolina, and one of the most brilliant stars in the American Nation.

The masses of the people had taken but little part in the political affairs of the State; he educated them to a realization of their rights and obligations. They had but poor educational advantages; he educated them to the idea that they were entitled to an education at the hands of the public. They had no college for the farmers' boys where they could educate the future farmers of the State; he builded Clemson College. They had no college for the young women of the State, and he caused Winthrop College for women to be builded. Each of these institutions now enrolls more than 1,000 students, and they stand as perpetual monuments to Gov. B. R. TILLMAN. Tens of thousands of young men and young women have received an education at these institutions which otherwise they could not have received, and their lives of usefulness are living pages in the book of life of Gov. TILLMAN.

He builded up the common schools, and so improved them that now a school is in the reach of practically every boy and girl within the State, as adequate, possibly, as the average State can afford.

He caused a better system of analysis and inspection of fertilizers, and so prevented the practice of mammoth frauds on the farmers of the State.

He contributed largely to the adoption of the primary election system of nominating all officials, and thereby gave equal rights and privileges to all. He caused a constitutional convention to be held, and it adopted a constitution which greatly improved the organic law of the State and preserved for the time being the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the State. He grappled with the liquor evil, as then exercised through open bar rooms, and realizing the necessity for the backing of public opinion, which was then not ripe for prohibition, instituted the system of State owned and controlled dispensaries, which subsequently became

corrupt, but which paved the way for abolition of the whisky traffic in South Carolina.

All these things were accomplished only after the hardest and bitterest of political conflicts—bitter because he was bitterly opposed and criticized; hard, because the opposition to Mr. TILLMAN was led by many of the best and brainiest men in the State who had controlled its policies and destinies and who could not see that a new day had dawned in the State.

In 1890 a preliminary convention of the representatives of the reform faction of the Democratic Party, headed by Mr. TILLMAN, was held in March, and this convention nominated a full State ticket, with Mr. TILLMAN as its candidate for governor, to be run for the regular Democratic nomination, and provided for a joint debate at each county seat between the candidates so put forward and any other candidates that might offer. Some of the most brilliant men in South Carolina joined issue with Mr. TILLMAN in the campaign, but his brilliant intellect, his keen wit, his ready retort, and his great learning were equal to every demand, and he carried the election with a tremendous majority and received the Democratic nomination. Bitter attacks were made on him, and this bitterness brought forth bitterness in return; but when the campaign was over he was ready to say, as Grant said after Appomattox, "Let us have peace." But not so. The opposition put out an independent candidate against him, but he was elected by an overwhelming majority, carrying every county in the State. He has since had the opportunity to pay a remarkable tribute to his competitor for the Democratic nomination for governor in his first race for governor, the Hon. Joseph H. Earle, who was subsequently his colleague in the Senate for a short time, and this tribute paid on the floor of the Senate shows that Mr. TILLMAN could fight a good fight, a hard fight, a bitter fight with a worthy antagonist and yet retain the respect of that man and at the same time retain a high regard for the virtues of an honorable antagonist, and such his antagonist was in 1890.

In 1892 he was a candidate for reelection as governor of South Carolina, and he was opposed in the primaries by that brilliant orator and courtly gentleman, ex-Gov. John C. Shepherd; and again Mr. TILLMAN had an antagonist worthy of the best, but so strongly was he entrenched in the hearts of the great masses of the people that he was reelected governor of his State for another term, during which he retained his wonderful hold on the regard and affections of his people, so that at the expiration of his second term as governor he was able, after a memorable campaign, to defeat the gallant Matthew Calbraith Butler, who had so well and so long served his State in peace and in war; and thus began his great senatorial career.

I shall not dwell at length on the record made by Senator TILLMAN in this body. Many of you who served with him know that record more intimately than I do. Some of you remember the inexperienced legislator who came here with his pitchfork. You saw him in action, you heard him in debate, you counseled with him in conference, and you had the opportunity of learning the massiveness of his intellect, the bigness of his heart, his desire to serve his party, his State, and his Nation.

When others left the Democratic Party, believing that the interests of the people could be better served through the Populist Party, he kept his followers within the Democratic Party and tried to make that party more truly representative of the masses of the people; where evils had crept into his own party he did not hesitate to point them out and seek to correct them. When the Republican Party was in power he did not hesitate to join issue with them in any matter that did not comport with his sense of civic righteousness, and some of his speeches on the great political problems of the past quarter of a century will go down in history as classics of the period. His fights against special privilege, his demand for a greater and more elastic currency, his opposition to the exorbitant prices charged for steel plate for battleships, his struggles against harmful monopolies—all these are matters of history and can not be overlooked by the future student of American history; but possibly the greatest service that it was his fortune to render the American people was in the upbuilding of the American Navy while he was a member of and chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, and the last official act of the distinguished Senator, the last signature that he ever placed to any document, was his signature to the conference report on the part of the Senate to the greatest naval bill that ever passed the American Congress. Under his chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs the American Navy was so increased and builded up that it now stands second only to that of Great Britain, and that Navy, with the assistance of those of our allies, made it possible for America

to send across the ocean more than 2,000,000 of American soldiers to join with the other legions of liberty in the great war of democracy and freedom of the world without the loss of a single American transport. Under his leadership great navy yards were built and improved in all parts of the country where needed, and the one on the coast of his own State will always be linked with his name and remain a monument to his memory.

He loved his fellow man, he loved freedom, he loved liberty; and when the civilization of mankind was at stake, when the freedom and liberty of the world were threatened, when oppressed people were crying out for assistance, when American rights were disregarded and invaded, when the American flag was insulted, he declared that these conditions were intolerable and that he would vote for a declaration of war against Germany whenever the opportunity presented, and he lived to see his country and yours take its proper place in the affairs of the world, but alas! the grim reaper carried him over yonder before it was given to him to see the glorious emblem of liberty and freedom floating over the victorious troops of free America on the fields of France.

He played his part like a man, he fought his battles like a soldier, he died in the service of his country, as he wished to do, and his State and his country are the better for that he lived. He is gone but not forgotten. The memory of his service and achievement will linger long after all of those who knew him, who loved him, and respected him, shall have joined that great invisible host in the eternal over yonder.

Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from South Carolina, Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, I move that the Senate stand in recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Monday, December 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SUNDAY, December 15, 1918.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by Mr. LEVER as Speaker pro tempore.

Rev. F. Ward Denys, of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Father of all who have gone, to whom we come at this time in solemn consciousness that we ourselves must all sooner or later enter the realm of the everlasting, we invoke Thy divine guidance on this occasion, that this memorial may be a fitting expression of that which concerns the one who has gone into the realm which we all must enter, and that that which is said of him may become an imperishable evidence of the services that he, as a faithful servant of his Master and of his country, rendered in these Halls prior to his going to the halls of lasting glory. These and all things we ask in the name of Him who is the author and soul of all that is good and true and beautiful; amen.

THE JOURNAL.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The clerk will read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the Journal. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EULOGIES ON THE LATE SENATOR TILLMAN.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the special order for to-day.

The clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina, by unanimous consent, Ordered, That Sunday, December 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina offers resolutions which the clerk will report.

The clerk read as follows:

House resolution 480.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina.